175 The Peace of Riga (May 18th, 1921) between Poland and
728 Russia allocated to the former Volynia, Polesya and the district of Kholm, formerly parts of the Russian Empire, while the Ambassadors' Council on March 14th, 1923 added Galicia to Poland's gains. In the Treaty of Riga both partners promised to respect the rights of their minorities while the Ambassadors' Council declared that Poland was to issue laws that would preserve Ukrainian rights and that this was why the Entente Powers relegated their supreme authority to Poland. In reality, throughout the period of Polish supremacy there was little or no attempt to satisfy Ukrainian claims. The Ukrainian Chairs, established at Lviv University by Austria, ceased to exist and the law providing for a Ukrainian university was never implemented. Ukrainian schools were slowly but surely replaced by others where Polish was used either in some or in all classes. Polish became the language of instruction in secondary and vocational schools. The Ukrainian language was not recognised legally either in the administration or in law courts and Ukrainian influence declined in all selfgovernment organisations. Poles colonised Ukrainian areas. A campaign of public opposition was opened against the Ukrainian church: hundreds of churches were shut, above all in the district round Kholm, and the buildings were frequently burned.

175 The reaction of the Ukrainian population was considerable.
871 In the field of education steps were taken to organise private Ukrainian schools; thus in 1934-35 there were 21 Ukrainian secondary schools, 5 continuation vocational schools — mostly in the towns. This is no mean accomplishment in view of the Polish resistance. Besides actual schooling. Ukrainian youth outside of the schools was organised. In 1938 in Galicia. alone the Ukrainian Union for Adult Education had half a million members, 84 branches, 3208 reading rooms. 2065 theatrical societies and 1105 choirs (the Union was forbidden by Polish Law outside
175 of Galicia). Cooperative stores also served to support Ukrainian
474 interests. In 1935 there were incorporated in the Ukrainian Central Cooperative Organisation 3013 cooperative societies with a membership of 541 508. This organisation of economic self-help had also to struggle against bitter Polish resistance, as expressed in the military pacification of Galicia in 1930 or the

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Soviet Government'. A few days later Red troops took possession of Ekaterinoslav; by the first half of January Mariupol, Odessa and Nikolaev were in Bolshevik hands, and Red detachments were marching from Kharkov through Poltava on Kiev. Foreign intervention remained the only chance for the Government of the Central *Rada*.

Although the third 'Universal' had not definitely proclaimed the Ukraine to be an independent republic, the Kiev Government informed the Austro-Hungarian and German authorities of their wish to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations as an independent state.

At Brest-Litovsk all parties were in a hurry. Lenin was anxious to conclude a peace at any price and as rapidly as possible in order to fulfil the promises he had made to the Soviets of Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' Delegates; the Germans were concerned to accelerate the liquidation of the Russian Front in order to be able to transfer greater numbers of troops to the Western Front; and they, and more urgently the Austrians, were in desperate need of the supplies which they considered the conclusion of peace would make available to them in Russia. Now the Ukrainians appeared upon the scene in no less haste to secure the salvation of the Kiev Government before it should have been liquidated by the forces of the Russian Revolution.

Representatives of the new Soviet power had crossed the German lines on 27 November, but an armistice had not been signed until 16 December; two days later the Armistice of Focşanĭ had concluded the fighting on the Roumanian Front immediately adjacent to the Ukrainian lands. During the negotiations for an armistice the *Rada* Government had been virtually ignored, for the Bolshevik delegates had been at pains to persuade the Germans that the Ukrainian Republic was nothing more than a fiction which would be swept away by 'the workers and peasants'. But when the news reached Kiev and it became known that negotiations for the signature of a general peace would immediately begin, the *Rada* hastened to declare its wish to participate and, as a reinforcement to its request made by wire, sent emissaries to Vienna in order to take advantage of the old and long-standing connections between the Austrian Government and the Ukrainian separatists.

Peace negotiations started on 8 January 1918 in Brest-Litovsk; Trotsky was at the head of the Soviet Delegation; von Kühlmann and General Hoffmann were the German representatives; and Count Czernin was in charge of Austro-Hungarian interests. Ottoman and Bulgarian Delegations also attended.

Without any special invitation, three young men soon put in their

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RDl Ukraine RDl

appearance—'the three students' they were nicknamed by the representatives of the Russian Revolution and of the two Germanic Empires. Levitsky, Lubinsky and Sevryuk, who declared their wish to take part in the proceedings as the representatives of the 'Ukrainian Popular Republic', were three of old Hrushevsky's pupils who had hardly had time to finish their schooling.

The aspect of the delegates with whom the representatives of the two great Empires had to treat had ceased to astonish anyone in Brest-Litovsk. Compared to the 'Delegates of the Sailors, Soldiers, Workers and Peasants' with whom General Hoffmann and Prince Leopold of Bavaria had been obliged to sit at the same table during the discussions about the armistice, these 'three students' seemed quite ordinary decent young men. They were invited to lunch and dine with the Delegations of 'the bourgeois states'—an amenity which Trotsky forbade to his Soviet comrades.

Count Czernin, although a little 'shocked' by the youth of the Ukrainian delegates, was obliged by the force of circumstances to enter into friendly relations with them. As for the German delegates, they were frankly pleased with the presence of the representatives of the *Rada*, considering that it might make Trotsky more amenable.

Trotsky continued to deny the existence of the 'Ukrainian Popular Republic'. Levitsky and his colleagues produced documents which showed that during the last elections in the Ukraine (November 1917) the *Rada* had polled 75 per cent of the votes and the Bolsheviks only 10 per cent. It was difficult to realize in Brest-Litovsk that those were the elections about which Vinnichenko wrote 'it was not they who elected us, but we who imposed ourselves on them'.

Owing to the importance of the negotiations, there also arrived in the wake of 'the three students', the new Prime Minister of the Ukraine, Vsevolod Holubovich, also quite a young man (thirty-four years of age), a sincere enthusiast of the 'Ukrainian national cause'. During the session of 10 January the presence of the Ukrainians at the Conference was officially recognized and Trotsky, 'with a sore heart', had to give his consent to their participation in the discussions.

The Ukrainian delegates soon began to astonish Hoffmann and Czernin by their immoderate demands. They had instructions to exact the annexation to the 'Popular Republic' not only of the Kholm district, which had been allocated to the proposed new Polish state, but also of Galicia and Bukovina which formed parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hoffmann almost yelled at Lubinsky and Sevryuk, who were not much abashed and declared that they would ask for new instructions from Kiev: they felt a certain amount of strength to be on their side. A few days later Count Czernin

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

wrote in his diary: 'The Ukrainians no longer lead the negotiations: they dictate their conditions.'

The situation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire had become critical about 15 January. 'The people are suffering from hunger', pleaded the Archbishop of Cracow; 'bread rations have been cut down by half', wired the Governor of Trieste; 'there is flour in Vienna only till next Monday', came from the Burgomaster of the capital. On the 17th the Emperor Charles wired to Czernin: 'The fate of the monarchy and of the dynasty depends on how soon you will be able to conclude peace in Brest-Litovsk.... If peace is not concluded a revolution will break out here.'

It was Czernin's good fortune that at this juncture the Ukrainian delegation received news which obliged it to adopt a less extravagant attitude. The 'Popular Republic' had lost in the first weeks of January all New Russia and nearly all left-bank Ukraine. Trotsky smiled sarcastically when he met 'the three students' and Radek wrote in the Soviet press: 'Let those who want bread scream death to the *Rada*!' Radek's aimable outburst against the Kiev *Rada* indicated that Ukrainian supplies were as badly needed in the Soviet capitals as they were in Vienna. This aspect of affairs was duly appreciated by the Germans, and Hoffmann suddenly became more interested in making peace with the *Rada*. When the Kiev *Rada*, under pressure of a Soviet threat to Kiev, relinquished their claims to Galicia and Bukovina, Hoffmann persuaded Czernin to accept the other conditions, including the demand for Kholm.

On 18 January the negotiations were temporarily interrupted. The Delegations left in quest of fresh instructions from their respective Governments. When after a few days they returned to Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky brought along with him new visitors: the representatives of the 'Ukrainian Soviet Republic' which had chosen Kharkov for its capital. Trotsky warned von Kühlmann and Czernin that the 'Ukrainian Soviet Republic' 'did not recognize any agreements which might be entered into by the *Rada*'.

The German and Austro-Hungarian Delegations came to the decision not to pay any attention to Trotsky's manœuvre. Hoffmann calmly noted in his diary: 'At any time we could support the Ukrainian Government and establish it again.'

On 1 February dissensions were renewed in Brest-Litovsk in a somewhat chaotic atmosphere. The Germans and Austrians had to carry on discussions with three Delegations at the same time: those of the Soviet Government, of the Ukrainian *Rada* and of the Ukrainian Soviet Government. The *Rada* Delegation produced the fourth 'Universal' from Kiev, according to which on 22 January the

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668 ●728 existence of 'a free and sovereign Ukraine' had been proclaimed. The Government of this new independent state had instructed its delegates to conclude peace 'without paying attention to any obstacles which might arise from other parts of the former Russian Empire'.

In the meantime, on 30 January, 'Red bands' commanded by Muraviëv had approached Kiev and had begun to bombard the city from the left bank of the Dniepr. During the session of 1 February Trotsky could not resist the pleasure of reading out a telegram which announced that some of the Ukrainian regiments of the *Rada* had gone over to the Bolsheviks, and which claimed that the days of the *Rada* were numbered. The Ukrainian delegates, Sevryuk and Lubinsky, responded with sharp denunciations of the Bolsheviks. 'Lubinsky retorted with an hour-long speech which for pure vitriolic opprobrium far exceeded anything that had been heard at this strangest of peace conferences' (Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk*, p. 210).

But Trotsky's triumph partook only of the theatre, for at the end of this same sitting Count Czernin announced the recognition by the Allied Empires of the Ukrainian 'Popular Republic' 'as an independent free and sovereign state'.

After this there remained only the technical side of the agreement with the Ukrainians. If Czernin and Kühlmann waited a few days longer it was only in the hope that the threat of a separate peace with the *Rada* might oblige Trotsky to come to his senses. On 8 February the principal clauses of a treaty were established. The basic condition was an obligation on the Ukraine to furnish not less than a million tons of supplies to the Allied Empires. To ensure the fulfilment of this condition an Austro-German Commission was to proceed to Kiev. But it had not been quite in vain that Trotsky had gloomily affirmed during these days that Czernin and Kühlmann were making an agreement with 'legally non-existent persons'. The battle for Kiev was taking place now in Kiev itself. After having signed peace with the Ukraine, Count Czernin wrote in his diary: 'I wonder if the *Rada* is still sitting in Kiev!'

On 10 February Trotsky made his famous declaration, 'Neither peace nor war', which caused Hoffmann to exclaim 'Unerhört!' The Soviet Delegation left Brest-Litovsk the same day. The only tangible result of all the negotiations had been the peace signed with the Ukrainian 'Popular Republic'. But Kiev had now been occupied by the Red Army; the *Rada* had fled to Zhitomir and was getting ready to flee farther west. The small detachments which had remained true to the *Rada* and which had been organized by Simon

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Petlyura (who had constituted himself a specialist in military affairs) were resisting fairly well in northern Podolia, but were certainly unable to secure the return of the *Rada* to Kiev. Trotsky's dramatic gesture had, however, simplified the problem. On 17 February the German Government denounced the armistice and ordered the armies of the Eastern Front to begin their advance. It was the only way of breaking the stubbornness of the Bolsheviks and of saving the *Rada* and the peace which it had signed with the promise of a million tons of supplies. (4, 5)

§3. THE GERMANS IN THE UKRAINE: HETMAN SKOROPADSKY

On 18 February, the German troops, without meeting any resistance, occupied Dvinsk on the road to Petrograd and Lutsk on the road to Kiev.

But it was no easy matter for the Austrians to resume the offensive. The Austro-Hungarian armies had been broken during the first two years of the war in the great battles with the Russians; in 1917 it had only been with German aid that they had succeeded in throwing back the Italians. No danger from without threatened the Habsburg Monarchy, but within the Empire dangers were growing with each day that passed. Hence on 17 February the Vienna Government had informed Berlin that Austro-Hungarian troops would take no part in the renewal of the war on the Eastern Front.

In the meantime, the Poles and Bohemians were in a state of agitation on account of the cession of the Kholm region to the Ukrainians. When the twenty-nine year old 'student' Sevryuk, who had signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Czernin and Kühlmann, made his appearance during a session of the Reichsrath on 19 February, Polish and Bohemian deputies met him with hoots and shouts of 'Clear out of here!' The Austro-Hungarian Government was compelled to put forward 'new conditions' in respect of Kholm.

The German troops continued their march through Volhynia in the direction of Kiev, and the Emperor Charles, fearful that the Austrians might fail to secure their share of the promised Ukrainian supplies, changed his mind. On 24 February the Austro-Hungarian divisions on the Eastern Front received the order to advance into the Ukraine. The Austrian decision had, however, already come too late, for on 1 March Kiev was occupied by the Germans and they alone reinstated the *Rada*.

By 3 March the rapid attainment by the Germans of the line Narva-Pskov and their seizure of the districts of Vitebsk, Mohilev

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642 728 and Homel, enabled Lenin to impose what he cynically described as his 'shameful peace' on his colleagues of the Soviets. Clause 6 of the Treaty obliged the Soviet Government 'to conclude peace at once with the Ukrainian People's Republic and to recognize the Treaty of Peace between that State and the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance'.

727 The occupation of the Ukraine was organized on the basis of a special agreement between Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Germans left about 500,000 men on the whole of the Eastern Front. Of these, apart from the troops which were stationed in Poland and Lithuania to protect lines of communication, there were about 12 Infantry and 2 Cavalry Divisions occupying the Front against Soviet Russia from Narva to Homel (the 8th and 10th Armies). The remaining 15–16 Infantry and 4 Cavalry Divisions were quartered in the Ukraine (with the exception of a few battalions which were sent to Poti for the protection of the new Georgian Republic from Germany's ally Turkey). The troops in the Ukraine constituted the *Heeresgruppe Kiev* and consisted of the 1st and 20th Army Corps, the 27th (Saxon) and the 22nd and 41st Reserve Corps, together with several independent divisions and detachments. These troops had little in common with the magnificent German armies which had invaded Russia in the first years of the war. The *Heeresgruppe Kiev* contained a veritable mosaic of different battalions—the majority of which consisted of elderly men belonging to Landwehr and Landsturm formations. During the whole period of the German occupation of the Ukraine there was a continuous process of transfer of single battalions and even of small detachments to the Western Front—and this became more noticeable after 8 August, the day which may be said to have marked the turning-point in France. Only the Cavalry Divisions and Artillery approached the standards of the German armies which had formerly been held on the Russian Front. Thus the legend that the military occupation of the Ukraine was 'a mistake', in the sense that important forces were engaged there which might have been decisively employed on the Western Front, seems to be without foundation. Out of all the *Heeresgruppe Kiev* it would have been difficult to select three or four fighting infantry divisions, and less could have been found among the miscellaneous collection of elderly and invalid troops which constituted the so-called 8th and 10th Armies.

The Austro-Hungarian forces in the Ukraine amounted nominally to 250,000 men; but their total in reality was far below this and the number of deserters grew every day.

The Germans from the first began to play the leading role in Kiev.

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But if the Occupation authorities were not much interested in the *Rada*, they could not help being interested in the Government which depended upon the *Rada* and which had undertaken, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, to procure supplies and raw materials for Germany and Austria. In order to comply with the formalities of diplomatic etiquette, the all-important clause of the Treaty had been worded in a somewhat vague and delicate way. Clause 7 ran as follows: 'The contracting parties mutually undertake to enter into economic relations without delay and to organize the exchange of goods on the basis of the following stipulations: until 31 July of the current year a reciprocal exchange of the surplus of their most important agricultural and industrial products for the purpose of meeting current requirements.' It proceeds to lay down that 'the quantities and classes of products shall be decided in the future by a special mixed commission'. It had only been in private conversations between the respective Delegations that the million tons had been mentioned.

The energetic and experienced Groener was entrusted with the realization of Clause 7, and for this purpose he established in Kiev the *Deutsche Ukrainische Kaufmännische Wirtschaftstelle*. This institution elaborated a detailed and rational mode of action. The Mixed Commission set up under the Peace Treaty sat for a long time before it could assess the classes and quantities of goods to be extracted from the Ukraine. At last, on 8 April, a Protocol was signed which formed a special Appendix to the Peace Treaty, and according to which the Government of the Ukrainian 'Popular Republic' undertook to send to Germany and Austria-Hungary a million tons of grain, 400 million eggs, cattle to the weight of about 46,000 tons, a great number of horses, a considerable quantity of coal, manganese, fodder, sugar, lard, etc. After the Protocol was signed it was not long before it became apparent that the theoretical calculations of General Groener would not be easy to realize in practice.

Field-Marshal Eichhorn himself gave vent to his scepticism when he grumbled that 'the whole trouble is that we have to treat this Ukraine as a friendly country'. But Baron Mumm hastened to retort: 'In my opinion it is absolutely necessary to keep up the fiction that the Ukraine is a friendly and independent country; otherwise we shall completely destroy the already shaky authority of the *Rada*.' General Hoffmann had no great confidence in all the methodical plans of General Groener and expressed the view that it would have been much better to have entrusted the whole business to Jewish intermediaries. By March, instead of the promised 300 train-loads of grain, only one train had arrived for Vienna and one for Buda-

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

728 439 Pest. In April the situation somewhat improved, but it was evident that there was no hope of receiving by the end of July any substantial proportion of the goods which had been stipulated under the Peace Treaty. It became clear that the enthusiastic delegates of the 'Popular Republic' had greatly exaggerated the agricultural wealth of their country. They had had in view 'potential possibilities', but they had quite failed to take into account the actual state of affairs in the spring of 1918. During the whole of the preceding year agrarian disorders had been taking place. The peasants had appropriated lands, and the countryside had been swarming with ex-soldiers who had completely lost their morale and who, although they had quitted the front, had no wish whatever to return to peaceful occupations. Under such conditions the harvest of 1917 had not been gathered as it would have been in normal times; and, furthermore, no one knew to whom what had actually been gathered really belonged. The cattle of the landowners had been in great part slaughtered or driven off when the Red Guards made their appearance in the Ukraine during the winter of 1917; the sugar factories were standing idle. At the same time, the well-to-do peasants had quickly learned to hide their grain and other produce, and they were no more willing to deliver to the Germans than they had been to the Bolsheviks.

As a result of all this, during the whole period of the Occupation, the Germans only succeeded in exporting 9293 wagon-loads of grain; 23,195 wagon-loads of fodder, sugar, cattle, eggs and other products; and 4567 wagon-loads of minerals (coal, manganese)—as a whole 37,000 wagons under the auspices of the *Wirtschaftstelle* and 5000 through 'private initiative'. This tonnage amounted to scarcely a fifth part of what had been expected before 31 July 1918. And even the quantities which Germany succeeded in securing were delivered after the Government of the *Rada* had given place to that of Hetman Skoropadsky, and for the most part during the first three months of the latter régime.

[642] 727 The failure of the *Rada* in 'the economic collaboration' with the Germans was the reason for its downfall. When the Germans came into the Ukraine their inspection of stocks of supplies not only revealed the relative scarcity of these stocks but also the chaotic state of Ukrainian economy at that moment. The estates of the landowners had almost completely disappeared, and the peasants had appropriated the land. This action of the agrarian proletariat had, however, received no legal sanction, and the *Rada* had not yet elaborated any land laws. To the Command of the *Heeresgruppe Kiev* the practical and not the legal state of affairs was important. Field-Marshal Eichhorn therefore issued an 'Order to the Ukrainian popu-

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

occupied Lvov, and advanced on Warsaw through Zamość by the same route which the Cossack hordes of Khmelnytsky had followed nearly three centuries before. But the Russians were checked at the gates of Warsaw (15 August), and their subsequent retreat was almost as rapid as their advance and the preceding Polish advance and retreat had been.

On 12 October an armistice was signed, and in the following year the Peace of Riga was to stabilize conditions on the Russian borderlands for nearly twenty years. Poland retained most of the Ukrainian territory of which she had been in occupation prior to the attack on Kiev—large parts of Volhynia and Polesia as well as about half the area of White Russia. The much disputed Kholm district and all Galicia also remained in Polish hands, although the temporary occupation of these territories had only been authorized by the Paris Conference 'pending the solution of the Russian Question'. As a result of the activities of the tenacious Petlyura and the visionary politicians of the 'Directoria' the Poles received, therefore, about 150,000 square kilometres of Ukrainian territory and about 5,000,000 Ukrainian-speaking subjects.

Simon Petlyura, like so many of the picturesque figures of the Russian Revolution, retired to Paris where, some years later, he was killed by a revolver shot in the Boulevard St Michel. The shot was fired by a young Jew named Schwartzbrod, who stated at his trial that he was taking vengeance on Petlyura for the pogroms committed by the 'Petlyurians'. (8, 9, 10)

§6. THE SOVIETS AND THE GROWTH OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

'The Ukrainian Soviet Republic' had been declared on 18 December 1918 in a proclamation of 'the Military and Revolutionary Committee of the Red Southern Army' signed by Stalin and Rakovski; the proclamation conferred all authority in 'the liberated territory' on 'the Ukrainian workers and the Ukrainian peasants'. On 3 January 1919, the day on which the Red Army entered Kharkov, then still occupied by part of the 1st German Army Corps, a proclamation of 'the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee' announced that all authority in the Ukraine was vested in this Committee which had 'the confidence of the working and peasant masses'. This document was signed by the President of the Committee, Manuilsky, and by the following members: Rakovski, Grinko, Zatonsky and Skrypnik. Rakovski was a professional revolutionary, a Bulgarian or Roumanian Jew by origin,

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the control of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and the Rada, it abolished all Ukrainian newspapers and its disorderly elements not only executed members of the Ukrainian and Russian bourgeoisie but also Ukrainian Communists and radicals who used the Ukrainian language in their hearing. 186 642 665

In the meantime the Bolsheviks had opened negotiations with the Germans in Brest-Litovsk where Trotsky claimed to speak for the entire former Russian Empire. To circumvent this, the Rada formally declared the full independence of Ukraine and sent delegates to the peace conference. As a balance to this, Trotsky introduced into the conference the representatives of this new Ukrainian Soviet Republic who claimed to be the spokesmen for the Ukrainian peasants and proletariat. Their arguments did not convince the Germans and Austrians, who saw greater possibilities of profit by recognizing the Ukrainian National Republic, so as to secure without fighting a large part of the Ukrainian grain supplies. The Ukrainian National Republic signed this agreement with misgivings, for, in fact, it threw the Rada into the power of the Germans and ended all chance of assistance from the Allied democratic powers which had previously regarded Lenin as the tool of the German General Staff. Now, with the conclusion of this peace, they extended their ill-will to the Ukrainian Central Rada. 648 186 642 665 [728]

The immediate result was German assistance to the Rada and the Soviet forces were quickly forced out of Ukraine and back into Great Russian territory. The leaders of the Ukrainian Soviet government were members of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and could not raise the question as to whether or not their new state was actually independent, and whether it could be, if it did not have its own Communist Party associated on a par with the Russian Party in the Communist International.

This brief Communist interlude in Ukraine should have been most instructive to both the Allied powers and the Germans, but neither drew the true lessons from it. The Allies, who were still opposed to the principles of Bolshevism and were annoyed by the speeches of Zinovyev and Chicherin, became more friendly disposed to the Russian Whites and gave up their efforts to win through

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The First Occupation of Western Ukraine

After the expulsion of the Soviet Forces from Western Ukraine in 1920, the territory, including Eastern Galicia and Lviv, had remained under Polish rule and had been subjected to a policy of Polonization and colonization by a Polish population. There had been during the period between the wars many clashes and much unpleasantness between the two nationalities and the ill will thus generated promised disastrous consequences for Poland in case of a new war. At the same time the Polish domination had never threatened the fundamental forms of Ukrainian social life, as had been the case in the UkSSR; the Ukrainians had a certain representation in the Polish Parliament, and they had been allowed, despite hindrances, to develop their own economic life. With the possible exception of the one district of Boryslav, there was very little Communism among the population, who were well aware of the handicaps under which their brothers in the UkSSR were living. At the same time the Nazi refusal to support the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine in the spring of 1939 had placed them on their guard against the Nazis.

Thus, when World War II broke out on September 1, 1939, the revolt of the Ukrainians which many Poles expected did not take place. However, the Polish government in the first days arrested and placed in concentration camps many of the Ukrainian leaders but they were freed by the rapid advance of the German forces and the Polish retreat, which forced into Lviv and the neighborhood many thousands of refugees.

On August 23, 1939, when the Nazis and the Soviets signed a non-aggression treaty, it was provided that if Poland were disintegrated, Germany and the USSR would divide the territory

roughly along the line of the Narev, the Vistula, and the San. This gave to the USSR the bulk of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories included in pre-war Poland and Germany also expressed her disinterest in the fate of Bukovyna and Bessarabia, where there was a Ukrainian population under Rumanian rule.

The collapse of the Polish forces before the German onslaught was so rapid that by September 17, 1939, the city of Lviv was practically in German hands. Then the Soviets, hiding their aggressive designs under the pretext that they were liberating their Ukrainian and Byelorussian brothers from the rule of the Polish lords and capitalists, declared that the Polish government had come to an end and that the Red Army was crossing the Polish border to restore and unite the population with the Soviet republics. At the approach of the Red Armies the Germans withdrew, and Lviv and the old Eastern Galicia remained in Soviet hands.

The Soviet army had advanced with either anti-Polish or anti-capitalist slogans without any opposition, but it was met with little real enthusiasm, for the Western Ukrainians were apprehensive as to what the future might bring. Some of the more openly anti-Communist leaders dropped out of sight or made their way into German-occupied territory. The bulk of the population remained passive, for they remembered the Russian invasion of 1914 and knew what those Ukrainians who had cooperated suffered when the Austro-Hungarian government returned the next year, and they could not believe that this time the Soviets would be any more fortunate.

The first days of the occupation were devoted to a conscious Ukrainization of the territory. The bulk of the population assisted in rounding up of the Polish police and security forces which had made themselves objectionable during the Polish domination, and without any hesitation unfurled the old Ukrainian blue and yellow national flag. The co-operation of the old Ukrainian political leaders was politely rejected but there was a large number of young, educated Ukrainians without special political experience whose aid was welcomed.

The old newspapers ceased at once to appear, but the new

The First Occupation of Western Ukraine

The old newspapers ceased at once to appear, but the new occupants started in all of the main cities new Communist newspapers as the *Free Ukraine* in Lviv and the *Soviet Ukraine* in Stanyslaviv. They allowed also a Communist Polish newspaper the *Red Flag* and a similar paper in Yiddish.

The old officials were at first encouraged to return to their posts, whether they were Polish or not but in a very short time they began to disappear and they were replaced by Ukrainian-speaking persons, some from the neighborhood and some from eastern Ukraine. At almost the same time, while preparations were begun for the proposed plebiscite, the authorities quietly picked up and incarcerated most of the old political leaders, especially those of the UNDO, the Ukrainian National Democratic League, the representatives of those parties that had sought a normalization of relations with the Poles.

In the same slow and unobstrusive way the Polish police of the different cities were replaced by a "national militia." This was composed of armed groups of young men who more or less volunteered for the work of maintaining order. The Ukrainian and the Jewish organizations tried to bring these self-appointed groups under control but this proved a difficult task for, in many cases, the new Soviet authorities had encouraged some of the more lawless and tumultuous elements to undertake the work so as to profit themselves by the resultant chaos and to facilitate the calling in of their own people.

This era of anxiety on the part of the population and of extreme moderation on the part of the occupying forces lasted for almost a month, while preparations were being made for the election of representatives of all organizations, factories, and groups to a National Assembly for the consideration of reunion with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Meetings were held everywhere, at which attendance was compulsory, and everywhere there was expressed by selected speakers the gratitude of the people for their liberation from the Polish lords and the imperialistic capitalists. Khrushchov and other high functionaries arrived from Kiev to conduct these elections and to superintend the preparation of the lists of delegates. Yet it was almost at once noted that while there

[1939, Russian occupation of Poland -- Analyst]

Ukraine Under the Soviets

728 were a few well-known persons on the various lists of delegates, 666 the vast majority were either completely unknown or were definitely recognized as representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic or of the occupying forces.

The election on October 22[1] was carried on in the regular Bolshevik fashion with no opportunity for any choice of candidates. Over 90% of the people were marshalled to the polls and it was made clear that they had no choice but to approve the selected list. The response was, of course, practically unanimous and the next step was then in order.

728 On October 26[1] the National Assembly met in Lviv. The del- [185] egates, acting under definite orders, elected a presidium which included Stalin and the officials of the UkSSR. The first act was to pass a resolution of gratitude to Stalin and the Soviet leaders for their liberation of the country. Then there were a few laudatory speeches and the resolution was adopted to apply for membership in the USSR, to nationalize trade, industry and the banks, to divide the land of the state, the large landowners and the church among the landless and poor peasants, and to send a delegation to Kiev and Moscow to ask for the incorporation.

All this was a cut and dried performance to satisfy the Communist love of paper democracy and to justify their occupation of the country under the guise of liberation. There was no discussion allowed and once again the resolution was accepted unanimously.

On November 1[1] the selected delegation met Stalin, and the Presidium of the USSR in Moscow formally welcomed the liberated brothers and annexed their territory to the UkSSR. It was noteworthy that the action of Moscow completely overshadowed any reception at Kiev but this was only natural in view of the nature of the entire enterprise. There were none of those demonstrations that had marked the union of the two sections in the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919, when the vote and the union represented the will of the people.

Once these formalities had been accomplished, the Soviets felt free to act and, at a steadily increasing tempo, they went through in a few months a refined version of what they had accomplished

[1] [1939 -- Analyst]

in the eastern Ukraine in the course of twenty years. At first their actions were moderate but with the passage of time they began to develop and to reveal those tendencies which had marked their course in the east. 728 ●

The first task was the reorganization of the country geographically. On September 28,[1] they had come to a new agreement with the Germans, whereby Germany had given up her claims to Lithuania in return for the area between the San and the Buh Rivers. So the Soviets assigned Wilno and its territory to an independent Lithuania; they annexed the region further south to the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the rest to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This left to the Germans four sections of Western Ukraine, Kholmshchyna, Pidlyashshya, Posannya, and Lemkivshchyna, which were included in the Polish Government General and were governed directly by the Nazis, who allowed the appointment of a Ukrainian Central Committee to represent the Ukrainians before the higher authorities, especially in question of relief, etc. [648]

The Soviet territory[2] was divided into six districts with their centres at Lviv, Drohobych, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, Rivne and Lutsk. Each of these was then divided into rayons or regions with about 25,000 population. The centres of these regions were often small towns but the division was made quite arbitrarily and each centre was amply provided with bureaucratic machinery. 728 631

The economic condition of the country was extremely bad and the only saving feature was that the harvest had already been gathered, so that there was a good chance for a large part of the agricultural population, even of the poor, to survive during the winter. Yet the influx of refugees fleeing before the German advance filled the cities and the severance of connections with the west prevented the arrival of any more manufactured goods or supplies and, of course, none came from the east. [433]

On the contrary, there came a new swarm of Soviet officials who were themselves amazed at the wealth of goods in what, to the natives, seemed impoverished markets. They brought with them liberal sums of money to buy whatever they wished and they were 436

1 [1939 -- Analyst]

2 [of occupied Poland -- Analyst]

5: Manning S-4 (no date) 1953 RD1 Ukraine RD1

in 1939, now received a new master. As soon as the Soviet forces entered the region in the autumn of 1944, they immediately began a campaign to liberate this area from Czecho-Slovakia and reunite it to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was the same old story carried on in the same way as in 1939. There was a mass of petitions apparently prepared by the native population asking for liberation, but these were in reality the work of a handful of carefully selected Communists.

They speedily reached their goal and on June 29, 1945, President Benes of Czechoslovakia recognized the justice of their claims and by an agreement handed over the entire province which was duly reunited with their brothers in Moscow. This brought together under the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic nearly all the Ukrainians, except a few who were still living in Poland and in a small stretch of territory which the UkSSR voluntarily ceded to Poland to satisfy the increasing claims of the Polish Communists and their needs in their efforts to cement their power in that state.

At the same time the realization by the Soviet authorities of the seriousness of the situation offered by the U. P. A. and the unrest among the Ukrainians led them to act on both the foreign and the domestic front. On the former they mobilized all of their friends and dupes abroad to stress the connection of the U. P. A., the "Bandera bandits," and the Nazi criminals, and they achieved considerable success in closing the eyes of the west until they had won considerable victories over the various U. P. A. groups, for too many Western leaders failed to see the inconsistency that they preached. At one and the same time the Soviet authorities boasted of their complete control of the territory of Western Ukraine, thanks to the love of the population for the Red Army and in almost the same breath they declaimed against these armed forces which were holding up the advance of the Red Army and the NKVD in the very areas where the people were thirsting for liberation.

On the domestic front in the autumn of 1945 they sent a large force of men into the Carpathian area under the command of Khrushchov as Premier of the UkSSR and General Ryasny, the

000 in an ideal organization. Stalin, by his policy in the thirties, blew away that mirage but it required a World War for him to annihilate it.

Soon after the Germans attacked, Stalin dissolved the Comintern to please his Western allies and to dupe them. He substituted the Slav Congress and when he secured the assent of the Big Three to liberate the Slavs, he highly developed this.

186 As the Red Army, now transformed by fiat of the Council of
● 728 Commissars of the USSR into the Ukrainian and Byelorussian armies, "liberated" one Slav capital after another, they were followed by cultural missions who talked to the enthusiastic multitudes on the Slav Brotherhood of Nations in terms of 1848, Peter, the Third Rome and Stalin. Rylsky and Tychyna, Korniychuk and Yanovsky, all the outstanding Ukrainian writers who had yielded to the Russian cause and survived the purges, spoke. They praised the new situation and the democratic powers admired this.

665 It was only a sham because soon there was established the Cominform. Its seat was not in Moscow but its spirit was there. The object of the Cominform was not to create a new and equal gathering of Communist humanity, not the ostensible idea of the Comintern but it was to inform the Communists among the Slavs and elsewhere of the approach to Communism by the elder Communists of the world, the Muscovite Great Russians.

[538] In the purely cultural sphere the answer was the condemnation of formalism, and still more of internationalism. Formalism was a technical school of literary criticism which had contributed something to the study of literature and culture. It was an attempt to put technique above content, or rather to judge content by technique and its advocates, sometimes great scholars in a narrow field, basked in the light of the admiration of their friends, until they considered themselves great.

814 Internationalism was something else. Its content had been ex-
665 pressed by the Protopope Avvakum in 1666 when he announced at his trial in Moscow that all Orthodox Christians had to come to Moscow to learn. Now it was the same. History was to be periodicized between A. M. and P. M. (Ante Muscoviae and Post

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

648 While awaiting further developments, Poland occupied herself with the Ukraine.

While the Polish sympathies of Petlioura became more precise, an important, if not the best, part of his troops, recruited among the Galicians of the former Austrian regiments, united, in November 1919, with the Russian Volunteer Army. Later the Galician Army was involved in the general collapse of the Whites. But it had tried the only chance of rescuing the Western Ukraine from Polish domination. Petlioura, safe behind Polish bayonets, appeared as an instrument completely in the service of the new Poland and of her chief, Marshal Pilsudski.

728 648 In December 1919 the representative of Petlioura signed, in the name of the Ukraine, a first declaration which recognized the Polish sovereignty over Galicia, Podolia, and Volynia, a declaration which, on 21 April 1920, was supplemented by a secret treaty of alliance according to the terms of which the popular Ukrainian Republic confirmed the cession to the complete sovereignty of Poland of these lands, in all more than 150,000 square kilometres with almost six million inhabitants, in return for the recognition of Petlioura by Poland as chief of the Ukrainian Government. Poland promised, amongst other things, to support the creation of a Ukrainian State, which had become very small and only included a very narrow territory between the new Polish frontier, very advanced to the east, and the old Polish-Russian frontier of the time before the first partition. This secret treaty was supplemented by a military agreement, which was signed three days later. Its terms guaranteed the formation of allied Ukrainian units, which would be under Polish command, in the territory ceded to the Poles. The railways of the Ukrainian territory were to be entirely at the disposal

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of the Polish troops. No more than the secret convention did the military treaty foresee Polish help, except in the Ukraine on the right bank, which alone interested the Poles. The authors of these agreements were so well aware of the incompatibility of this treaty with the national sentiments of the Ukrainian people that they never dared to publish these acts. Even the members of the Directorate, apart from a few exceptions, were not informed of it. It is only in 1926 that this document was published by Professor S. Cheloukhine, a Ukrainian monarchist and former President of the Law Tribunal of Odessa under the Tsars.

After the signature of the military treaty on 7 May 1920 the Polish troops, followed by Petlioura, entered Kiev. The Polish domination over a large part of the Ukraine seemed re-established. But soon the divisions of the Red Cavalry, commanded by Boudenny,[1] marched towards the east and the Ukrainian peasants, despite their dislike of the Soviet regime, supported them with all means. The former Commander-in-Chief of the south-western front at the time of the Tsar, General Broussilov, proclaimed a national war against Poland and published an appeal to which, raised by a wave of patriotism, many thousands of Tsarist officers replied, though they would never have, till then, agreed to serve in the Soviet Army. We will be unable to study the details of the Russo-Polish War which saw Poland escape from disaster at the decisive battle under the walls of Warsaw.

After the defeat of Warsaw, Soviet Russia signed the Treaty of Riga in 1921 and abandoned to Poland that Ukrainian territory which had been ceded to her by Petlioura—Eastern Galicia, Western Volynia, and Polesia. There can be no doubt that only the Soviet

[1] Former Cavalry Adjutant, to-day Marshal of the Soviet Union and Commander-in-Chief of the Moscow Military district.

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

728 Government, hostile in principle to everything connected with Russian national tradition, could put its signature on such a document, considered as an even greater national humiliation than the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Ukrainian separatist movement, doubly compromised by its agreements with the central empires and with Poland, foundered as a result of general contempt.

648 728 Soon the Allied Powers recognized the Polish domination over the whole of Galicia, at first as a temporary measure. It became definite on 15 March 1923. Poland agreed to establish an autonomous regime here, but this promise had never been honoured. From this date, too, Poland exercised her absolute power over a considerable part of the Ukrainian people.

000 The Soviet attitude to the Ukrainian question at that time is not of great interest and does not furnish new factors which could throw new light on the problem.

If Soviet policy with regard to this problem seems confused and inconsequent, this is so because it is not determined by a firm and well-established point of view, but by two factors which are outside this question: by the reaction of the Ukrainian population to the 'social experience' to which it is subjected and by the attitude of Germany and Poland to the Ukrainian problem.

642 Immediately after the establishment of Soviet rule on Ukrainian territory, and in full agreement with Marxist theories, the right of peoples to determine their own fate was proclaimed and naturally also affected the Ukraine, as every other member of the Soviet Union. Thus the Socialist Soviet Republic of the Ukraine was founded. The Constitution even gave it the official right of ceding from the U.S.S.R. This is the official aspect. In practice the Ukraine became an integral part of the Soviet Union and completely dependent on the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

669 indignation was caused by the bloody Communist terror that took thousands of innocent people as its victims. The war of Soviet Rus-
186 sia against Ukraine and the terror by the Russian 'Red Guards' in Ukraine, still strengthened among the Ukrainians the will to fight for their national independence. This was expressed in an essay by the President of the Ukrainian Central Council, Professor Hrushevsky, the most authoritative personality of Ukrainian political life of that time. Hrushevsky wrote:

"The first matter I have to lay stress on is that from now, in our relations with Moscow, a radical change has taken place. It is vain to look for a possibility of living with the Russians in the boundaries of one state. We had sincerely believed that in a new Russia the Ukrainian nation could find the necessary conditions for its manifold development. Now we have lost this belief. We have convinced ourselves that our ways differ from those of a reactionary or a revolutionary Russia. After the unprecedented barbaric atrocities of the Russian Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian people, after the cruel shelling of the Ukrainian capital by the Soviet Russian troops, in our relations with Russia a new period begins. Ukraine has to continue her struggle for liberation in order to create an independent state. Our social and political ideals must be based not on the examples of oriental despotism, but on the principles of the life and development of civilised Europe, where, before all, human dignity is valued. Ukraine has always stood in her history culturally and politically nearer to Western Europe. If we want to liberate ourselves from foreign violence, we have to conform to the civilised West" (*On the Threshold of New Ukraine:* Kiev, 1918).

8. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

●728 The Soviet Russian Government had by its ruthless propaganda for an immediate peace treaty definitely disorganised the front against the Central Powers. Thus the representatives of the Ukrainian Government took part in the peace negotiations with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk. The diplomats of the Central Powers gave the Ukrainian Government in the negotiations with the Ukrainian delegates various facilities in order to secure a 'grain treaty' with Ukraine. For the food situation of the Central Powers at that time was fatal. The peace treaty between Ukraine and the Central Powers was concluded in Brest-Litovsk on February 9, 1918. As at that time a great part of Ukraine was occupied by the Soviet Russian troops, it was in the interest of the Central Powers to interrupt the export of grain to Russia, and to use the food

resources of Ukraine for themselves. The armies of the Central Powers came into Ukraine.

Under the pressure of the Ukrainian armed forces and the armies of the Central Powers the Soviet 'Red Guards' had to leave Ukrainian territory. The discontent of the masses of the Ukrainian people against the pillage and terror of the Soviet troops was so great that everywhere in Ukraine uprisings against the Russian occupation broke out. This moral and political failure of the Russian Soviet régime was a heavy blow to the Communist movement in Ukraine. For this reason in May 1918, even the 'Government of Soviet Ukraine' was abolished. But for propaganda purposes it was decided to create a 'Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine', formally independent from the Russian party. This party held its congress in July 1918, in Moscow. The congress passed the resolution:

"To fight for the revolutionary union of Ukraine and Russia on the principles of proletarian centralism within the boundaries of the Soviet Russian Republic". Thus the 'Communists of Ukraine' were resolutely against Ukrainian national independence.

9. The Coup d'Etat in Ukraine and the Rule of Skoropadsky (29. 4. 1918 — 14. 11. 1918)

Declaring Ukraine an independent democratic republic by the Act of January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Council passed simultaneously a wide programme of economic reforms in agriculture and industry. By this the Ukrainian Parliament wished to take away the basis for the demagogical propaganda of the Communists against the 'Ukrainian Bourgeois Government'. The Ukrainian Central Council approved in its 'Fourth Universal' a plan of a broad land reform to the benefit of the landless and poor peasantry of Ukraine. It was decided to distribute the big latifundia.

This Bill of the Ukrainian Central Council created great discontent among the big landowners in Ukraine who belonged almost exclusively to the Russian and Polish nationalities. The representatives of this group applied directly to the German authorities in Ukraine to abolish the Ukrainian Central Council.

In German military circles this wish was met favourably, for they thought that the big landowners would be able to supply grain for the armies of the Central Powers better than the small peasant husbandry. In German politics the decision lay with persons whose attitude was hostile to Ukrainian state independence, General Ludendorff and others. They thought it might be useful for Germany to afford no possibility for the development of the Ukrainian

tories that had been formerly under Russian and Austrian rule. 182
The Directory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic issued a 642
special Act on January 22, 1919, in Kiev which declared:

"From this day, the parts of Ukraine — the Western-Ukrainian Democratic Republic, Galicia, Bukovina and Hungarian Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine) and the Great Ukraine on the Dnieper, unite. The ancient hopes which the best sons of Ukraine had lived and died for become reality. From now there is one indivisible independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic".

Relying on this Act, the delegation from Western Ukraine, numbering 65 people, took part in the Congress of Ukraine which had been called to Kiev on January 23, 1919.

The Western-Ukrainian Republic, from the first days of its [726]
existence, had to fight in a heavy struggle against the Poles who 728
pretended to rule in Galicia even after the dissolution of Austria. The Poles invaded the Western Ukrainian Republic after having concentrated large forces on this front. The Ukrainian Government asked the Entente Powers and the Paris Peace Conference for mediation in the Polish-Ukrainian war. In February 1919, a Mission of the Peace Conference arrived in Galicia headed by the French General Berthélemy, and with the participation of the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Italy. This Mission presented to the Poles and Ukrainians a plan for an armistice on February 28, 1919. According to this plan, until the final decision of the Peace Conference, the territory of Galicia eastwards of the Bug and Stryj Rivers should remain under Ukrainian administration, while the Western part of Galicia should be administered by the Polish authorities. The Galician territory which remained under Ukrainian administration should be recognised by the Big Powers 'de facto' as an independent state, and the Ukrainian Army should be recognised and trained with the assistance of the Entente Powers. The Ukrainian Government did not accept the demarcation line proposed by the Mission of General Berthélemy as unfavourable for Ukraine. In May 1919, a new Mission of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference arrived in Galicia, headed by General Botha (South Africa). General Botha's Mission altered the previous armistice draft, and the Ukrainian Government agreed to accept it. However, the Poles rejected this plan.

The small country — Ukrainian Galicia — had to strain all her 726
forces in order to hold the front against the whole might of Poland. From Eastern Ukraine Galicia could not receive any considerable help, because the Ukrainian forces had to fight the Skoropadsky

the Ukrainian partisan movement. New requisitions of grain and the taking of arms from the population caused an even greater disappointment among the Ukrainians. The partisan movement which had overthrown Denikin's power turned with new vigour against the Russian Communists. These risings were carried on under the banner of the independent democratic Ukraine. The want of arms and supplies did not permit the Ukrainian partisan movement to develop and to attain decisive results in the struggle with the overwhelming forces of the Russian Red Army.

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17. Poland — Ukraine — Russia 1920—21

At the end of 1919, the regular front of the Ukrainian Army broke down. The Ukrainian Army continued the fight against 'White' and 'Red' Russia as guerilla war. The diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic headed by Andriy Liwycky, Cabinet member, started negotiations with the Polish Government about the relations between Poland and Ukraine. The consequence of these negotiations was a Convention signed in Warsaw on April 21, 1920. In that time the Government of the Ukrainian Republic headed by Isaac Mazepa was remaining in Ukraine.

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According to this Convention a new frontier between Ukraine and Poland was established: those Ukrainian territories Poland had seized in 1919 in the war with the Ukrainians (Galicia, Volhynia etc.) remained on the Polish side. The Polish Government undertook to support the restoration of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic on the territories occupied by Soviet Russia.

The war of Poland and Ukraine against Soviet Russia, which was carried on with changing fortunes did not bring the expected results to the Ukrainians. The Polish leaders thought it more advantageous for themselves to come to an agreement with Soviet Russia after having divided the Ukrainian territories with Moscow (Treaty of Riga, March 18, 1921). Poland recognised in Riga the Government of the 'independent' Soviet Ukraine and broke off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Ukrainian Army which in fighting against the overwhelming Russian forces, had entered Polish territories together with the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic (November 1920) was interned. The soldiers of this army, who had fought against Soviet Russia not only for Ukraine but for Poland alike, were placed by the Polish Government in camps in such conditions that many of them died there, or acquired serious diseases.

563 and were even persecuted as 'infected by nationalism'. For the
423 Ukrainian peasants a land reform was proclaimed at the cost of the
474 big landowners, but simultaneously the organisation of collective farms was started, and this caused serious bitterness among the masses of the people. It should be pointed out that between the Western Ukrainian territories recently occupied by the Soviet Army and the old USSR a strictly guarded police border was preserved, in order to prevent any contact between the population of these territories.

2. The Ukrainians under Rumanian Rule (Bukovina and Bessarabia)

563 In 1918 Rumania occupied Bessarabia and Bukovina. The first had been a Russian province, the second had belonged to Austria. In these provinces there were about 1 million Ukrainians at that time. From the beginning of the Rumanian occupation, for 10 years, the state of siege was maintained. This paralysed the political, economic and cultural organisation of the Ukrainians. From 1922, all Ukrainian schools were transformed into Rumanian. The Rumanian Government did not recognise the Ukrainians as a separate nation but declared that the Ukrainians in Bessarabia and Bukovina were 'Rumanians by origin who had forgotten the Rumanian language'. During the state of siege in Bukovina the Ukrainian books in the public libraries were confiscated; in the Churches the Rumanian language was introduced. The Ukrainian co-operative societies were destroyed by administrative oppressions. The only sign of Ukrainian national life was the Ukrainian press, but against this press the Rumanian authorities placed various obstacles.

[665] In 1927 in Bukovina the Ukrainian National Party was founded. This party won at the elections to the Rumanian Parliament 3 mandates — 2 Deputies and 1 Senator.

[204] The Rumanian authorities greatly feared the possibilities of the development of the Ukrainian movement, and did not admit in Bessarabia even the Ukrainian press, while the Russian press was allowed.

● 728 In 1940 Rumania ceded Bukovina and Bessarabia to the USSR.
661 The Ukrainian parts of these countries were united with Soviet Ukraine, the territories populated by Moldavians were added to the Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic, founded as far back as 1925 within the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine. The Soviet occupation by its terrorism and economic policy (forced collectivisation) soon disappointed the population of Bessarabia and Bukovina.

[2. In Western Ukraine Under Soviet rule, Sept. 1939 -- Analyst]

though this population had accepted in a friendly manner the Soviet rule, hoping for an improvement of their situation. When Rumania in alliance with Germany joined the war against USSR in 1941, the Rumanian authorities on their part terrorised the Ukrainian population of Bukovina and Bessarabia. At the end of the war Bukovina and Bessarabia were joined with USSR again. The Communist terror turned with even greater vehemence against the Ukrainians there. Especially from Bukovina a great part of the Ukrainian population had been deported into the Eastern regions of the USSR. The cities were filled with foreign elements, colonists from Russia were brought into the villages.

3. The Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine)

After 1919 Carpatho-Ukraine, which had been for centuries under Hungarian rule, was attached to Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian population of this country consists mostly of peasants. The towns had a Jewish and Hungarian population. The Czech authorities in Carpatho-Ukraine (official name Carpatho-Ruthenia) favoured for some time the development of Ukrainian schools. But from 1925 the Prague Government began to support the Russophile group that despised the Ukrainian language as 'peasant' and used a strange mixture of the Church-Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Russian languages. In reality, these 'Russophiles' were adherents of Hungary and received support from Budapost too. The entire administration in Carpatho-Ukraine came into the hands of the Czech bureaucracy. According to the Treaty of Saint Germain, Carpatho-Ukraine was guaranteed autonomy inside the boundaries of CSR, but the Czechoslovakian Government permanently deferred its realisation.

At the end of 1938 Germany launched strong pressure against Czechoslovakia exploiting the national problem of this country, (Sudeten Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians, Ukrainians). The Prague Government changed the centralistic Constitution to a federative one. For the Carpathian Ukraine the Prague Government recognised an autonomous statute with a separate Diet and Government. Against this the neighbour states — Hungary and Poland — reacted vehemently. In February 1939, the elections to the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine took place. After the separation of Slovakia from Bohemia the Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed the independence of this country (March 16, 1939). But with Hitler's and Mussolini's consent the Hungarian troops occupied Carpatho-Ukraine after stubborn fighting against the Ukrainian volunteers.

8: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668 the Provisional Government. The idea of forming
642 part of a Russian federal republic was still powerful in the Rada; and on September 26, 1917, a conference of forty different nationalities had met at Kiev to discuss the question of local autonomies under a federal system. Preparations for a Constituent Assembly, which was to include 22 members from the Ukraine and 17 from the Don Cossacks, were set on foot; while propaganda was carried on by the ultra-nationalists and the internationalists, i.e. the Soviets, with a view to boycotting the Russian Constituent Assembly.

642 In November 1917, after Kerenski's Government had been replaced by the Bolshevik Soviets, the Ukraine on the whole was much more in favour of the latter than were the Don Cossacks, who formed on November 9 a confederation of a more conservative character. To save its position among the masses, the Rada underwent a rapid process of evolution, and on November 20 published a *Universale* of a radical character. It proclaimed the 'Ukrainian People's Republic', abolished all private ownership of land, introduced State control of production and an eight-hour day in all factories, removed the death penalty from the statute book, and finally expressed a hope that the Ukrainian National Republic would be federated with the Russian Republic. By doing this the Rada hoped to check Soviet interference; it failed to do so; and from December 19 serious differences between the Rada and the Soviet Government in
642 Petrograd became apparent. The Soviet Government
● 728 at Petrograd accused the Rada of giving support to the Cadets and of siding with the Don Cossacks in their hostility to the Bolsheviks; while the Rada declared itself a body elected by Revolutionary Democrats in the Ukraine, and refused to co-operate with the Bolsheviks or to send delegates with them to Brest-Litovsk. It finally declared, on December 24, that, as the Russian army was disorganized, it would take military measures for the defence of its borders. Some of the Ukrainian forces mobilized at that time joined

the Russian armies on the Rumanian and south-western fronts. The Soviet Government therefore began to organize the Red Guards against the Rada, which by that time had completed its negotiations with Germany, and on December 27 had sent the delegation of the Ukrainian Central Rada to Brest-Litovsk. The delegation was composed of Hrushevski, Holubowich, Vinnitchenko, and Petlura, while the intermediary between them and the Austro-German authorities was Wassilko, a member of the Reichsrat and Count Czernin's adviser on Ukrainian affairs.

On January 11, 1918, the delegates of the Ukrainian Republic were formally recognized at Brest by the Central Powers. This recognition was interpreted by the Rada as meaning the recognition of Ukrainian independence. Vinnitchenko boasted that the French Government had made a gold loan and printed paper money for the Ukraine, and that the Western allies would soon recognize its independence. (The Allied Mission to the Ukraine, sent in December 1917, was interpreted by the Ukrainians as implying such a recognition.) But, while successful at Brest, the Rada's authority in Kiev was shaken by the frequent risings of the Ukrainians of the Soviets (especially at Odessa on January 17 and 28); and the Petrograd Soviets supported the latter, demanding that they should be represented in the Ukrainian delegation. On January 26 the Government at Petrograd broke off relations with the Rada, 'until it is replaced by a Rada of Soviets'. To strengthen its position at Brest, the Rada, on January 28, declared, by 508 votes to 4, for the complete independence of the Ukraine.

(*b*) *German Occupation.*—On February 9 the 'Bread' peace of Brest-Litovsk was signed between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand, and the 'Ukrainian People's Republic' (the Rada) on the other. At the same time, however, the report arrived that the Rada had been suppressed by Soviet troops, who declared it to be 'but a sad memory'. On February 20 the British Chargé-d'affaires in Russia

175 The wars which broke out among the local princes after Monomakh's death belong to the darkest chapter in the history of the Kiyev Rus. Actually the kingdom ceased to exist. Nothing remained to hold it together, neither dynastic ties nor marauding expeditions, nor the church, which was powerless. For 35 years, from 1146 to 1181 there were ceaseless struggles for the throne •728 of Kiyev, and an almost /Facing page 32/ /Map 1: 631 Ukraine at the beginning of the year 1938. The Ukraine was divided between four states as a result of the Peace of Riga on March 18, 1921 between the Soviet Union and Poland, the transfer of Bessarabia to Rumania, and the edicts of St. Germain and Trianon. In the west Poland was given West Ukraine (Galicia and Volhynia), Carpatho-Ukraine passed from Hungary to Czechoslovakia, small parts of Carpatho-Ukraine, Bukovina and Bessarabia went to Rumania, while the major portion of Ukraine was left to the Soviet Union which established the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic on one part of Ukrainian national soil./ /Keys to the map: -.-.-. state boundaries, ——boundaries of the Soviet Republics, ---boundaries of the autonomous Soviet Republics, -..-..- boundaries of the autonomous territories, ... boundaries of the territories (oblasts), administration centers underlined./ /33/ uninterrupted war was waged for 175 sovereignty within the leading principality. The princes of Suzdal in the north waged the most bitter and brutal fight of all for supremacy. They whose descendants are to become the princes of Moscow do not shrink from an alliance with the khans of Polovtsi against Kiyev. More than once these hordes devastated the unfortunate country. Finally in 1155 Georgii Dolgorukov, Prince of Suzdal, was victorious over Kiyev, and fourteen years later the splendor of this city which had not seen its equal throughout eastern Europe melts away in the flare of Suzdal-Polovtsi pillage. (17)

17. Grushevskyj: History of the Ukraine, page 91.

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[Map I: Ukraine at the beginning of the year 1938, cf. complete legend P. 30]

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[MAP 2 Ukraine at the beginning of the year 1938]

175 726 "miracle on the Vistula" took place: the Bolsheviks turned around and halted beyond the Sbrucz.

175 726 728 At the peace negotiations in Riga the partners of Andrusov met after two and a half centuries for a partition of the Ukraine. The Russians conceded the Poles the western parts of Polesia, Volhynia and Podolia, Lublin and Podlakhia in the Riga Treaty of March 18, 1921. The protest of Petliura who was not admitted to the negotiations remained unheard. Was it blind hatred of the Bolsheviks, a commission of the Poles or burning patriotism, which, after this bitter disappointment, again drove him across the borders with a small band of followers? Whatever it is, the guerilla war which the ex-dictator unleashes in East Ukraine does not change anything in his country's fate, which was definitively sealed at Riga. /80/

175 726 Driven out of his home for the last time and again disarmed by the Poles, he was nevertheless permitted to kindle rebellions in East Ukraine from within the Polish state. If the East Ukrainians bled to death and the Bolsheviks had internal difficulties, this could only please Warsaw. When the Bolsheviks finally cruelly quelled these uprisings - according to accounts in the Communist of February 23, 1923, 6000 groups of rebels were discovered and destroyed in 1921 -, Petliura, the ally of Pilsudski at the conquest of Kiyev, was now merely a troublesome foreigner in Poland. As such he was banished. /Facing page 80/ /Map V: The Ukraine Before the First World War (1914). At the end of the eighteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom disintegrated. From that time on the main part of the Ukraine belonged to the Czar's realm. Parts of West Ukraine in so-called East Galicia and Bukovina, along with Chernovtsy went to Austria, Ukrainian territory in the Carpathians to Hungary./ /Key inside map: -.-.-. National boundaries. ...Provincial boundar-

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[Ruthenians]

•728 631 ies in Austria and boundaries of the various gubermyas in Russia./

/81/

Fair Play

186 In the winter of 1938/39 the Ukrainian peasants in Poland were no longer recognizable. If after the pacification of 1930 they went about for many years bent and timid like beaten dogs, they now carried their heads higher. It was as though they felt a fresh breeze, and whenever they had business with Polish officials they omitted expressions of due respect, in fact they became cynical. They stood around in groups, talked in the most animated fashion, nudged each other meaningfully and sometimes laughed out loud.

[186] 101 642 What happened? Since the end of October 1938, there was the "Carpatho-Ukrainian autonomy" beyond the Carpathians. There on the southern slopes of the Carpathians live the Ukrainian tribes of Lemki, Boyki and the Huzul. On poor soil they eke out a precarious living as small farmers, woodsmen and shepherds. In the warmer season many of them hire themselves out as harvest workers in the fertile Hungarian lowlands, and there they also trade in carriage grease. Before the First World War they shipped salt to Warsaw and fruit even as far as Moscow. Ruthenia, as their little country was once called, always belonged to the Kingdom bearing the crown of Stephen. After the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy Czech insatiability succeeded in having "Carpatho-Russia" - that is what Ruthenia was now called - assigned to the Czechs by the edict of Saint-Germain. The "autonomy" which the little country was promised on paper in the edict remained an unfulfilled dream for its inhabitants. "Carpatho-Russia" was a province abounding in forests, which Prague could and would exploit. It was only after the solution of the Sudeten

11: Obermaier--82A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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[Map IV: The Ukraine before the First World War (1914), cf. Complete Legend, pp. 81-82]

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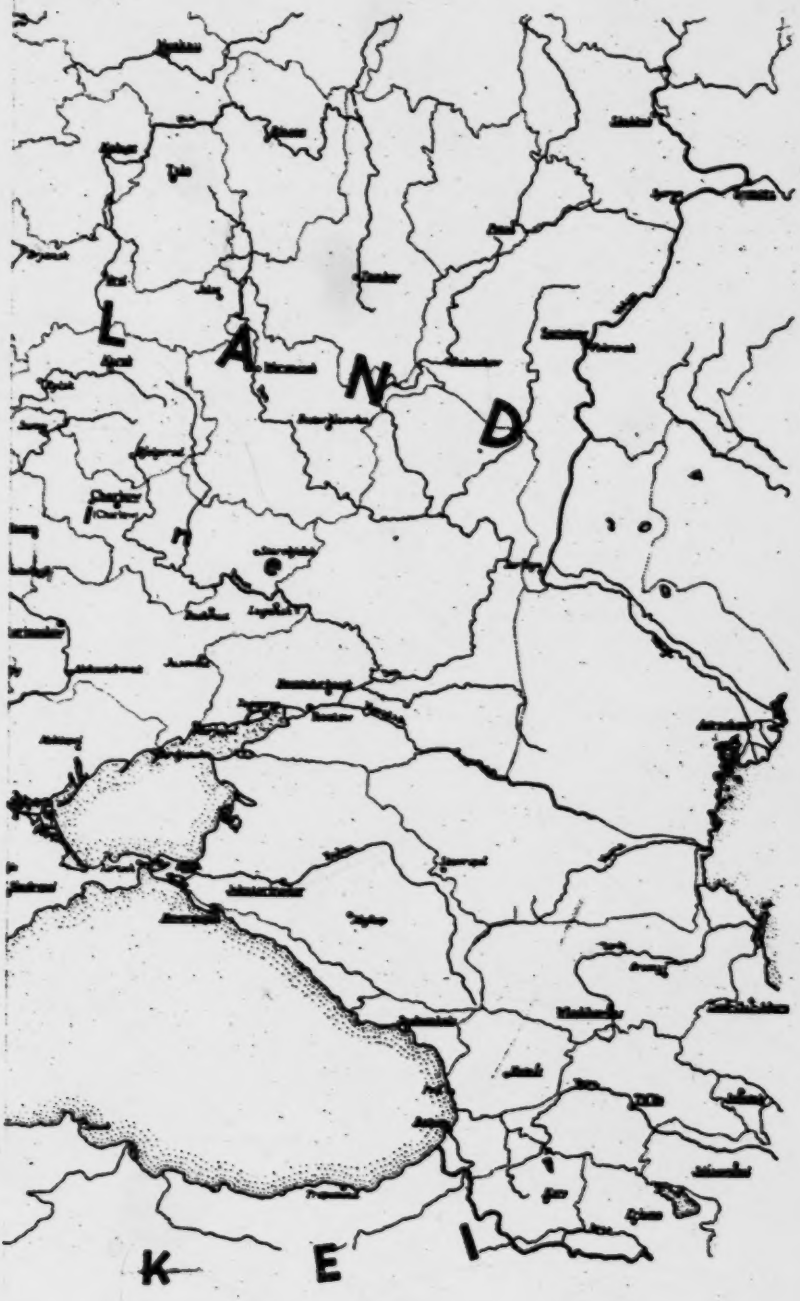

[Map I the Ukraine before the First World War (1914)]

[Galicia] [Volhynia]

668 railways or in the courts, to say nothing of their being made officers in the army. Private enterprises controlled by the state operate on the same principle. Of the 4000 Ukrainian teachers, one-fourth of them are scattered outside the Ukrainian national territory. Three-quarters of our intellectuals are unemployed. There is the additional fact that it is made impossible for our peasants to acquire land; even in cases where there is a partitioning of a large Ukrainian estate, the land is sold to Polish colonists. Our national banks and cooperatives get practically no credit and the little money lent to us is on a short-term basis. Moreover, the Polish government has created two frontier zones from which it can banish every Ukrainian without stating its reasons. In these frontier zones the voivode is sole ruler. Even the district captain can at any time dispossess any priest, teacher or a cooperative official whom he suspects of being nationalistic. In the end, the present

•728 /Facing page 88/ /Map VI: Ukraine in the Years 1917-20. At the end of the first World War the Ukrainian People's Republic was created and lasted for a short time. Finally, after involved struggles against three fronts, the Poles in the West, the Bolsheviks in the North and East and the troops of the reactionary generals Denikin and Wrangel, it perished./ /Keys inside: ▽ Region of the Ukrainian state. ▭ Temporary annexes. ////// Boundaries of territory occupied by Ukrainian nationals. -"- Boundaries of the predominantly Ukrainian zone./ /89/ appeasement actions which are being carried out exactly after the 1930 pattern, will force us to give up the normalization policy." (50)

50. Statements made by a leading member of the UNDO party in February, 1939.

11: Obermaier--90A J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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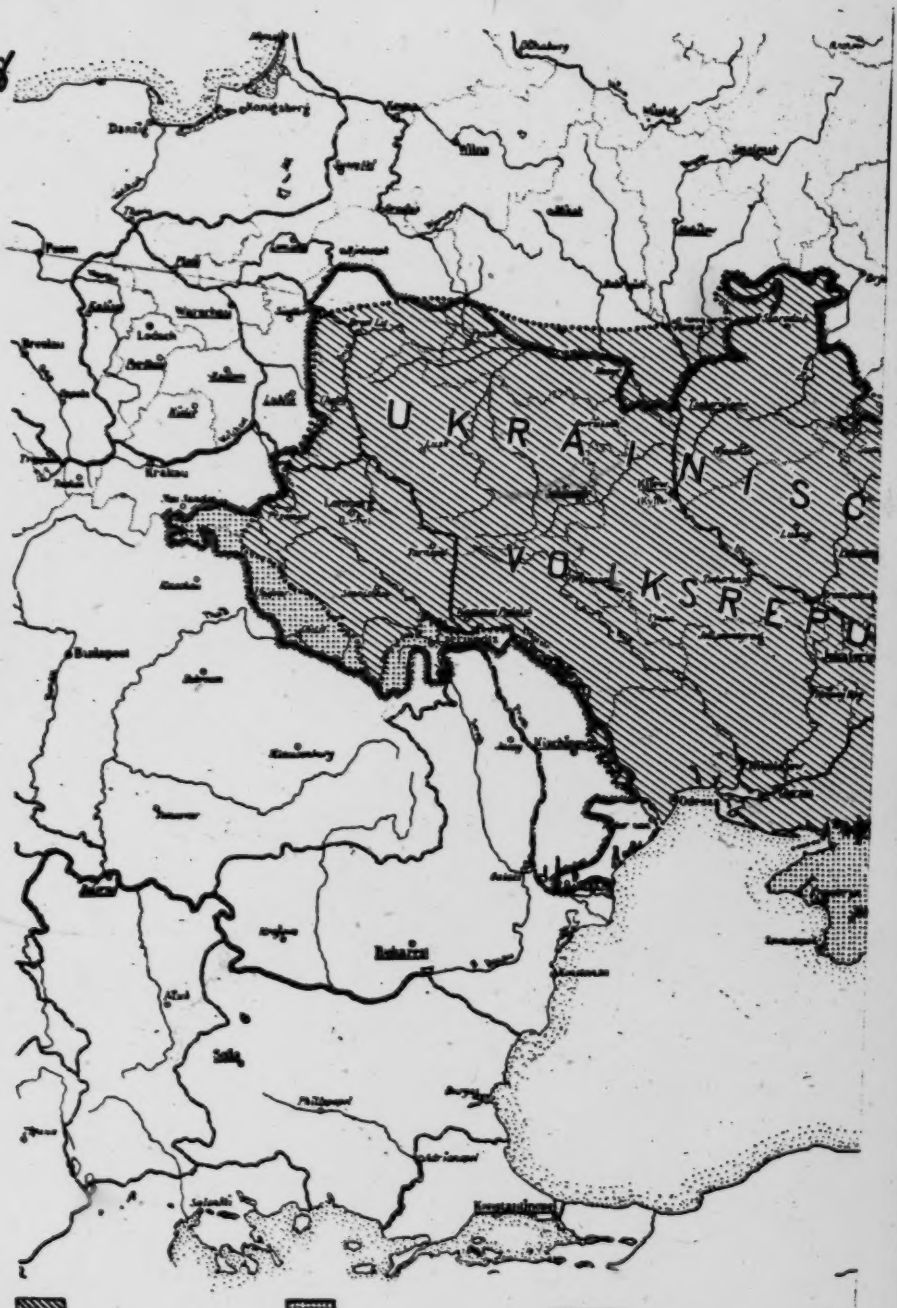

[Map VI: Ukraine in the years 1917-20, cf. complete Legend, p. 90]

11: Obermaier--90B J-3 (no date) 1942 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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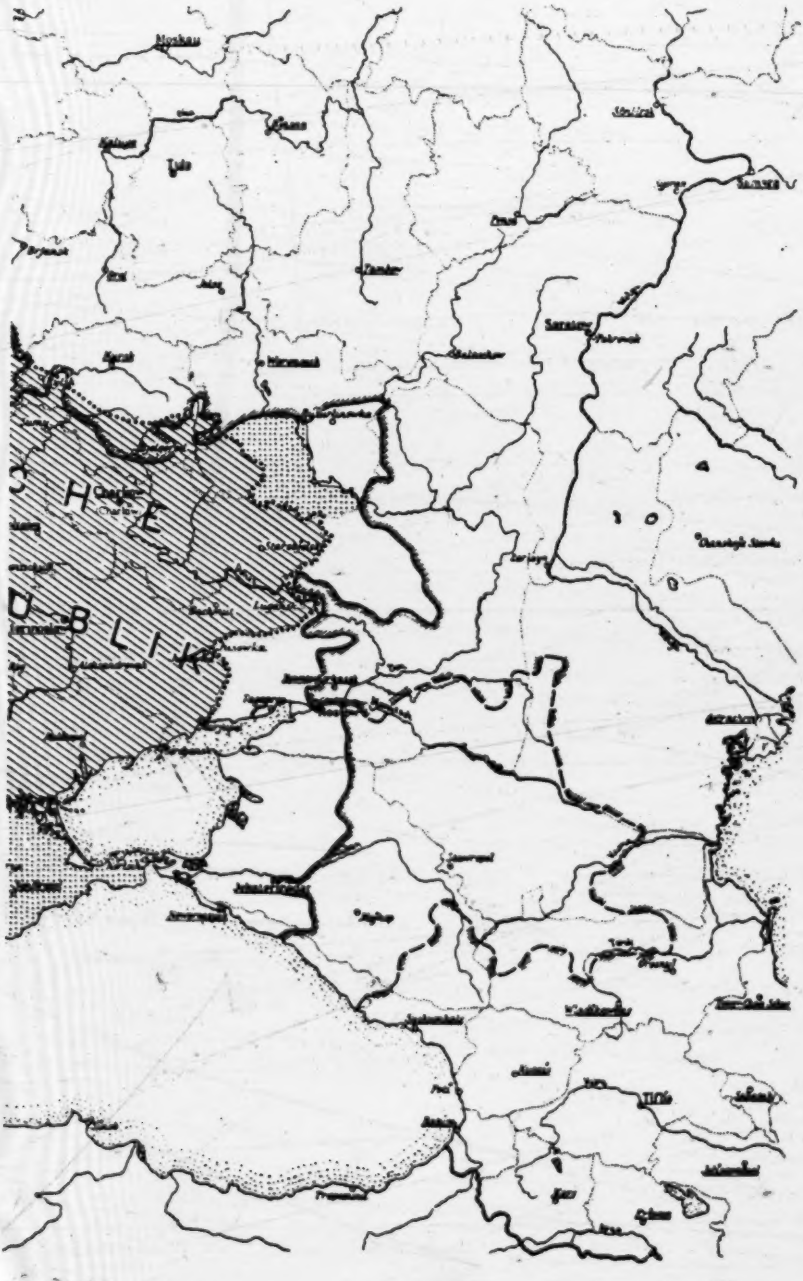

[Map VI: Ukraine in the years 1917-20]

131 constituent autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R.[1] On November 1,
[728] 1939, 88,000 square kilometres were added when Western Ukraine, which in
1920 had been annexed by Poland, was re-joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

131 Another 21,300 square kilometres were added in June 1940 when
728 Bessarabia (annexed by Rumania in 1918) and Northern Bukovina (another part of Rumania) also were incorporated, making the Ukraine's total area then about 579,000 square kilometres. However, a small decrease occurred in August 1940 when the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. granted the petition of the Moldavian people in Bessarabia to join with a part of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic to form the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war the area of the Ukraine was 575,000 square kilometres (2½ per cent. of the territory of the Soviet Union); and the population was over 40 millions. After the addition of the Transcarpathian region in June 1945, the Ukraine's total area was 557,700 square kilometres; it is approximately the same today. The following table summarizes the changes in the area and population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 1939 to June 1941.

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635 The U.S.S.R. is composed of sixteen Union Soviet Socialist Republics.
642 Within this framework there exist a number of autonomous provinces, national regions and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. Before August 1940 the Ukrainian S.S.R. included one autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R. which was subsequently given full status and became the sixteenth Union Republic. According to Professor Trainin, the Soviet authority on legal questions, the main distinction between autonomous and union republics is that the latter are guaranteed the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. - a right which is not incorporated in the constitutions of the autonomous republics. Another difference regarding status is that whereas in the Soviet of Nationalities (one of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.) every Union republic is represented by 25 deputies, the autonomous republic is represented by only 11.

TABLE I

Area and Population of the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1939-40

	Area (thousand square kilometres)	Population (millions)
131 161 Area Ukrainian S.S.R. January 1939	469.7	30.96
Territories added:		
Western Ukraine (added November 1939)	88.0	8.0
Part of Bessarabia	15.3	1.05
Northern Bukovina (both added June 1940)	6.0	0.5
	579.0	40.51
Territories transferred:		
Part of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. (together with part of Bessarabia, created the Moldavian S.S.R., August 1940)	3.9	0.31
Totals August 1940	575.1	40.20

Source : Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

● 728 131 162 In June 1945 the Transcarpathian Ukraine was ceded by Czechoslovakia to the Ukrainian S.S.R. This transfer added about 12,600 square kilometres area and a population of about 750,000. The details of the various cessions of territory are given below.

Soviet-Polish Frontiers

In the autumn of 1939, after the collapse of the Polish State and the occupation of Western Poland by German troops, the Soviet Government decided to take under its protection the life and property of the population of Eastern Poland, that is, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, inhabited mainly by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. When they were seized by Poland in 1920, these territories were ethnographically and economically part of the Soviet Union. Their return to the Soviet Union increased the area and population of the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 108,000 square kilometres and 4.8 million inhabitants; and of the Ukraine, by 88,000 square kilometres and 8 million people.

In August 1945, a slight adjustment of frontiers took place between Poland and the Soviet Union. A treaty was signed which, in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference in February 1945, established the Polish-Soviet boundary roughly along the Curzon Line, with some deviations in favour of Poland. As a result of this, Poland was given back a small strip of the territory which had been incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1939.

000 Soviet Union in 1939.

101 In the years before its reunion with the Ukrainian S.S.R. Western Ukraine was relatively undeveloped, as compared with the industrial and agricultural expansion which was taking place in the Ukraine itself. The backwardness of Western Ukraine before its incorporation into the Soviet Union is shown by the following table, which compares per person output in 1938 of the Ukrainian S.S.R. with that of Western Ukraine.

TABLE II

433 Per Person Output of Western Ukraine and of Ukrainian S.S.R., 1938

	Western Ukraine	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Electro power (kilowatt hours)	13.05	305
Cement (kilograms)	12.2	39.7
Bricks (pieces)	17.0	50.3
Sugar (kilograms)	5.9	58.9
Soap (kilograms)	0.5	2.58

Source : Planned Economy, State Planning Commission, Moscow, 1940.

Transfer to the U.S.S.R. of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina

728 On June 26, 1940, the Soviet Government communicated with the Rumanian Minister in Moscow concerning Bessarabia[1]. In 1918, said the communication, Rumania, "taking advantage of the military weakness of Russia....(seized) a part of her territory, namely, Bessarabia, which is principally occupied by Ukrainians..." The Soviet Government, never having recognized any justice in Rumania's claims to Bessarabia, demanded the immediate return of this territory to the Soviet Union. The communication also stated that "... the return of Bessarabia is organically connected with the question of the return to the Soviet Union of that part of the Bukovina the majority of whose population is connected with the Soviet Union not only through the community of their historic destinies but through the similarity of their language and national Constitutions".

It was therefore proposed that Northern Bukovina, as well as Bessarabia, should be given to the Soviet Union, and that the transfer should take place immediately. On June 27, 1940, after the Rumanian Government's acceptance of the Soviet Proposals, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were re-joined to the Ukrainian Republic. The total area of these two ceded territories was 50,400 square kilometres, of which 21,300 were added to the Ukraine, and 29,100 square kilometres were incorporated into the newly created Moldavian S.S.R.

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1 The Bulletin of International News, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, July 13, 1940.

Moldavia

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648 The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was created on August 2, 1940 by the decree of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. This Republic consists of a part of the former Moldavian Autonomous S.S. Republic and of a section of Bessarabia incorporated into the Soviet Union.
[131
161] The creation of this new Union Republic decreased the Ukrainian S.S.R. by 3,900 square kilometres and a population of 310,000 persons[1].

The Transcarpathian Ukraine[2]

● 728 In June 1945 an agreement was signed in Moscow between the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic that the Transcarpathian Ukraine "...which on the basis of a pact of September 10, 1919, concluded at St.Germain-en-Laye, entered the Czechoslovak Republic with the rank of an Autonomous Republic, will, according to the wish manifested by the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine and on the basis of the friendly agreement of both high contracting parties, unite with its longstanding motherland, the Ukraine, and is included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The frontier between Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine, existing since September 29, 1938, will, with modifications described, become the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic..."

Article II of the protocol appended to the Pact said that:

"Persons of Ukrainian and Russian nationality living in Czechoslovak territory have the right to opt for Soviet citizenship until January 1, 1946... Czech and Slovak nationals residing or having their permanent domicile in the territory of the Carpatho-Ukraine have the right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality during the time until January 1, 1946".[3]

131
311 On January 1, 1935, the area of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 12,617 square kilometres. In 1937 about half of this was covered by forests and woods; roughly 239,000 hectares were arable, and about 328,000 hectares were devoted to vineyards, market gardens, and permanent meadows and pastures.

161 As at December 1, 1930, the population of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 725,357, an increase of nearly 121,000 over February 1921.[4]

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1 Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

2 Called by the Czechs, Sub-Carpathian Rus, or Carpatho-Ukraine.

3 New York Times quoted by Voices of History (1945-46), Gramercy Publishing Company, New York.

4 Statistical Handbook of Czechoslovak Republic, London.

728 198 The progress in construction and rehabilitation which has taken place since the incorporation of this region into the Ukraine was revealed at a meeting of the Soviet of Nationalities on October 16, 1946, when the representative of the Transcarpathian Ukraine summed up the achievements in 1946. Nearly 300 enterprises had been restored, and nine machine and tractor stations had been set up to assist the peasants in working [212 the fields. Much had been done in 1946 to abolish illiteracy; there 871] were opened over 100 schools, including 75 elementary, seven technical, 27 secondary, four music schools for children, and one school for surgeons' assistants and midwives.

433 At the end of December it was stated that 35 new factories had started functioning in the Transcarpathian Region in 1946[1]. Moreover, as compared with 1945 when there was not a single coal mine, 8 mines were working in 1946. There had also been definite progress in building up consumer goods industries. A clothing and a shoe factory had begun working in Vinogradov, and a knitted goods mill in Mukachevo. Some 200 light industries have been opened in various parts of the region.

Population of the Ukraine

162 The Ukraine is inhabited largely by Ukrainians, and also by Russians, Jews, and Poles. Most of the population is literate, and in 1939 there were many technical and vocational schools, as well as scientific research institutes and about 40,000 libraries.

At the census of January 17, 1939 the Ukrainian S.S.R. had 30,960,221 inhabitants; an increase of 6.6 per cent. as compared with December 1926. The greatest increase had occurred in the towns, largely as a result of the migration of country people to new industries. Thus from 1926 to 1939 the urban population more than doubled (5,373,553 to 11,195,620) while the number of rural inhabitants decreased by 16½ per cent. (23,669,381 to 19,764,601).

000 The same was true for the entire Soviet Union. From 147,027,915 in December 1926, its total population increased by 15.9 per cent. to 170,467,186 in January 1939, the urban population having grown from 26.3 million to 55.9 millions; and the rural population having fallen from 120.7 million to 114.5 million.

162 [361] The principal cities of the Ukraine with their population on January 17, 1939, are Kiev, the capital (population, 846,293); Kharkov, capital of the Ukraine before 1934 (833,432), the part of Odessa on the Black Sea (604,223), Dniepropetrovsk on the Dnieper River (500,662), Stalino, industrial centre of the Donets Basin (462,395), and Nikolayev (167,108).

In January 1939 the urban population of the Ukraine was 36.2 per

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1 Soviet Monitor, London, December 29, 1946.

Agricultural Development of the Incorporated Territories

311 425 123 According to the Concise Yearbook of Poland, London, 1941, there were in 1938 over four million hectares of arable land and 190,000 hectares of orchards and market gardens in Western Ukraine. The principal crops grown were wheat, rye, barley, oats, potatoes, and sugar beet.

Before 1939 farming in Western Ukraine was carried out on a very primitive level. After the incorporation of this region into the Ukrainian Republic, however, great changes were made. On October 28, 1939, the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine decreed the confiscation of large land estates, and subsequently, according to the Moscow periodical, Soviet State and Law (1941-III), over one million hectares were distributed among 400,000 landless farm workers and small holders. Similar changes occurred in the other incorporated territories. In the northern part of Bukovina, (in the Chernovitsy Province joined to the Ukraine) 200,000 hectares were distributed among landless workers, while in the Izmail (former Akkerman) Province, Bessarabia, 65,000 hectares were divided.

474 241 178 Apart from the confiscation of large estates and the re-distribution of the land, two further processes could be observed in these areas from the time of their incorporation until Germany attacked the U.S.S.R.: the organization of peasant holdings into collective farms, and the increased mechanization of agriculture. By September 1940 there were 400 collective farms in Western Ukraine; by January 1, 1941, the number had increased to 571, in which there were organized 34,000 peasant farm holdings. (These numbers do not include 535 "initiative" groups for the creation of collective farms with 14,000 peasant farm holdings.) In Northern Bukovina (according to the same source Soviet State and Law, 1941-III) the first seven collective farms with 3,000 hectares were also founded.

475 407 Mechanization also advanced rapidly. In the western part of the Ukraine 170 Machine and Tractor Stations were established in the first year of incorporation into the Republic. In 1941 in the Izmail Province, 27 Machine Tractor Stations were being built, and in the Chernovitsy Province, 13.

475 407 652 In the Transcarpathian region (incorporated into the Ukraine in June, 1945), nine Machine and Tractor Stations were established in 1946 to assist the work of the fields. The Five-Year Plan 1946-50 provides for special attention to the farms of Transcarpathian Ukraine in the form of machines, fertilizers and credits to increase agricultural production in this region, the pre-war output of which was as follows.

TABLE XIV

185 433 241 Ukraine: Planned Production in 1950 Compared with 1940 and 1913 (see Note)

(million metric tons)

	1913	1940	1950
Grain	20	28	27.8
Sugar beet	8.9	14.8	15.7
Potatoes	about 5[1]	21.5	23

1 According to the report in Pravda, the potato harvest in 1940 was "over 4 times" that of 1913.

Source: Pravda Ukrainy, Kiev, August 28, 1946.

[728] Note: In comparing the 1950 target figures with pre-war production it is important to bear in mind the territorial revisions which occurred in the Ukraine after 1939, when she regained Western Ukraine and part of Bessarabia, lost a part of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic (which, together with the Moldavian Section of Bessarabia, then became a separate Union Republic), and added Northern Bukovina and Transcarpathian Ukraine.

[131] Thus the present area of the Ukraine exceeds its 1938 area by approximately 118,000 kilometres (11,800,000 hectares). However, we do not know precisely how much of this is agricultural land. The arable land in Western Ukraine before the war amounted to 4 million hectares; that of Transcarpathian Ukraine, to 239,000 hectares. In the parts of Bessarabia and Bukovina which were ceded to the Soviet Union, 3,285,800 hectares were classified as arable. If we roughly divide this between Moldavia and the Ukraine in proportion to the total ex-Rumanian area incorporated in each, about 1,300,000 hectares of agricultural land would have been added to the Ukraine in its share of Bessarabia; and the arable area of present-day Ukraine would exceed the 1937 cultivated area by about 5½ million hectares, the potential total being 30.6 million. The fact that the Five-Year Plan fixes the Ukraine's 1950 area of cultivation at 30.5 million hectares seems to support this assumption.

311 728

Livestock

231 In 1941 the number of livestock in the Ukraine was estimated at 30.4 million, including 10.5 million cattle and 4.6 million horses.[1]

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1 Statement on March 20, 1946, by Mr. Baranovsky, Ukrainian delegate to the UNRRA Fourth Council Session, published in the "UNRRA Journal", March 21, 1946.

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UKraine RD1

S.U. 563

affairs, Soviet policy in Transcarpathian Ukraine kept a certain balance between Russian and Ukrainian cultural work in the new province. Russian books and Russian newspapers are now being printed there side by side with Ukrainian ones.

COMMUNISTS AND ANTI-COMMUNISTS IN THE WESTERN UKRAINE

UK. 728

The annexation of the Western Ukraine, whilst increasing on the one hand the might of the Soviet Empire and improving its strategic position, at the same time delayed the internal political consolidation of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

UK. 665

Owing to its notable past failures the Communist Party machinery found it difficult to take root among the people of the Western Ukraine – even after its incorporation into the U.S.S.R. In each of the nine Western Ukrainian provinces (six from Poland, two from Rumania and one from Czechoslovakia), the Communist Party could rely only upon a few thousand loyal Bolsheviks. Thus in the large province of Rovno (formerly Polish), the Communist Party early in 1948 had but 6,000 members of whom more than half joined during the war and in the post-war period.[15] In the Transcarpathian Ukraine the party had in December 1946 only 4,000 members, about one-half per cent of the entire population.[16] This figure included not only local communists but also party and state officials who had come to the province in considerable numbers from beyond the Carpathians.

UK. 669

Together with a minute number of people who could be considered reliable from the Soviet standpoint, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in absorbing the new territories took over a large number of people with a Western anti-Soviet outlook, particularly anti-Soviet and anti-Russian intellectuals. This fresh accession of Ukrainian nationalist elements also encouraged the opposition forces in the 'Old Ukraine'. The great prominence of the historic vanguard role of the Western Ukraine in the Ukrainian national movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound to make itself felt inside the Soviet Ukraine as well. Years of Rumanian and Polish oppression had been unable to obliterate the importance of Western Ukrainian cultural nationalism which had unfolded itself before 1918 under the liberal rule of the Hapsburg monarchy. The Ukrainian nation was, indeed, a recognized political and cultural fact inside the Austrian Empire at a time when Czarist Russia denied the very existence of a Ukrainian nation.

Lvov in Galicia and Chernovitsy in the Bukovina had been centres of a legal Ukrainian national movement and of an openly professed Ukrainian culture long before Kiev and Kharkov. The Western Ukraine had not known that revolutionary Ukrainian-Russian comradeship-in-arms

of the seventeenth century, Bogdan Khmelnitsky. The Kremlin, like Hitler, had no intention of satisfying the essence of Ukrainian national aspirations; all it wanted was to secure a greater degree of Ukrainian co-operation in the war effort, in guerilla fighting and sabotage behind the enemy lines. The Soviet Government could not prevent its war-time emergency measures from being misunderstood and mistaken for some sort of *carte blanche* for future nationalistic deviations.

The full extent to which Ukrainian nationalists may have betrayed the Soviet Union during the war with Germany is, of course, impossible to estimate. The Ukrainian Soviet Government indirectly recognized, however, that the militant anti-Soviet Ukrainian nationalists must have constituted a fairly considerable body by proclaiming an amnesty in 1944 for the members of the U.P.A., the 'Ukrainian Insurgent Army'. This amnesty is unique in the history of the U.S.S.R. since it applied collectively to an entire group notable for its fanatical hatred of the Soviet régime and its contempt for the Russians.

This amnesty offer was so unusual for Soviet conditions that many U.P.A. members refused to take it seriously. The U.P.A. continued to terrorize the Soviet Ukrainian-Polish-Czechoslovak border areas, and in 1945–47 carried out daring raids deep into Czech and Polish territories. The members of the U.P.A. detachments were often referred to as 'Banderovtsy' after their leader Stephen Bandera.

The 'Banderovtsy' exploited for their ends the fact that a comparatively small strip of land in Eastern Poland which was inhabited by Ukrainians was not included in the Ukrainian S.S.R., the area of Kholm and Hrubeshov. According to the nationalities programme of the Comintern the Kholm area was to be included in the Soviet Ukrainian State. The Ukrainian State President, M. S. Grechukha, in a Supreme Soviet debate on February 7th, 1944, also demanded the incorporation of this 'Ukrainian Far West' into the Ukrainian S.S.R.[18] However, the Soviet central Government apparently found it impossible to convince the Western Allies and even the Polish communists that another slice of Poland should be cut off. Thus the Ukraine was denied its 'Far West' and a repatriation of the Ukrainians of the Polish areas concerned was carried out instead.

The activities of the 'Banderovtsy' found particular support among the peasants of the Ukrainian villages of the Polish border area earmarked for evacuation; for one of the foremost tasks of the U.P.A. detachments was to render the evacuation impossible and to prevent by terrorist acts any Polish colonization on former Ukrainian farmland. It has been asserted that the Banderovtsy enjoyed support from local Ukrainian Soviet authorities in the border areas because of their anti-Polish character. This allegation is difficult to check. It is certain, however, that the U.P.A. detachments could not possibly have maintained themselves so long without assistance from a part of the Soviet Ukrainian peasantry.